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THE STORY OF WISCONSIN, 1634-1848

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CHAPTER IV—TERRITORIAL FOUNDATIONS AND DEVELOPMENT

PRETERRITORIAL ROUTES

The first routes to Wisconsin were waterways. Bounded by the Great Lakes and the Mississippi, the natural means of approach was by watercraft. Sailing vessels from the eastern ports landed goods and passengers at Green Bay; keel boats up and down the Mississippi connected Prairie du Chien with St. Louis and New Orleans; canoes and Mackinaw boats plied the inland rivers. The invention of the steamboat accelerated traffic. The first lakes' steamer reached Green Bay in 1821; the first upper river steamboat ascended the Mississippi in 1823. The first Wisconsin settlers in the lead mining region came by way of the Mississippi to Galena, thence overland on foot or on horseback. Later, steamboats made landings at the Grant County ports of Cassville and Sinipee. By the time of the Black Hawk War the mining centers were connected by a number of rude roads. Beyond this region there was, until the erection of the territory, but one road in Wisconsin, the military highway opened by detachments of troops between 1833 and 1836. This road connected Fort Howard at Green Bay with Fort Winnebago at the portage by a route along the south bank of the Fox River, the east shore of Lake Winnebago; thence across country direct to Portage. From there the second division of the road ran southwest to Blue Mounds; thence along the Wisconsin watershed to which it gave the name of Military Ridge. It crossed the Wisconsin about six miles above its mouth and from the ferry ran to Fort Crawford at Prairie

du Chien. All the cross-country traffic except that on the Fox-Wisconsin waterway went by this road. By 1836 several taverns had been opened along its western portion.

Coming from the south was a long-used Indian trail from Chicago to Green Bay. It crossed from Grosse Point (now Winnetka) to Skunk Grove, just west of the present Racine; thence ran to Juneau's post on Milwaukee River; thence north, following the general line of the lake shore, touching it at Port Washington and Two Rivers.¹⁷ Gradually as white travelers took this trail they cut its curves and broadened its pathway until it took on the semblance of a road.

EASTERN IMMIGRANTS

Notwithstanding the advertisement of Wisconsin lands during and succeeding the Black Hawk War of 1832, it was not until 1835 that immigrants in any numbers began to arrive at Wisconsin ports. This delay was due to several reasons. In the first place the Indian title was not extinguished until the autumn of 1833. After the Black Hawk War the Sauk and Foxes and the Winnebago were compelled that same autumn to cede all their lands south of the Fox-Wisconsin waterway; the Menominee claims along the lower Fox and south to the Milwaukee River were purchased in October, 1832. The allied tribes of the Ottawa, Chippewa, and Potawatomi met in September, 1833 at a great treaty at Chicago and there sold all their lands west and south of Lake Michigan. This put at rest forever the Indian rights to all of southern Wisconsin. Following this, the United States in 1834 opened two land offices for the new cessions: one at Mineral Point, which began to enter land in November, the other at Green Bay, where entries were not possible until the spring of 1835.

The other states of the Old Northwest had yet much good land to offer to intending immigrants. Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois were at this period in the midst of a rush into their

¹⁷ *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, XV, 454.

vacant territory. For instance Oberlin, Ohio, founded in 1833, was then surrounded by a country still a wilderness. The years from 1830 to 1837 were those in which the northern and central portions of Indiana were compacted. The northern tier of counties in Illinois was not settled until after the Black Hawk War; and this region was the first to feel the impetus of immigration as the result of that event.

Michigan was, however, Wisconsin's chief rival for the eastern emigrants. In 1824 there were but ten villages in all the region that afterwards became the state of Michigan. The next year the Erie Canal was completed, and, next to Cleveland, Detroit became the chief distributing point for new settlers pouring in from New England and New York. The same year the government finished a military road from Detroit to Chicago, and along this route the great bulk of westward travel passed.¹⁸

The spring of 1835 opened with a rush into the region that would soon become a new territory. Every steamboat arriving at Green Bay brought from the East speculators eager to secure possession of Wisconsin's fertile lands, mill sites, water powers, and future commercial centers. Bona fide settlers also came pouring in and soon outnumbered and outmaneuvered the land sharks; and the hitherto unbroken wilderness became dotted with rude cabin homes. The settlers of 1835 sought locations near the lake shore, those that promised future harbors and prosperous cities. Chief among these was Milwaukee, which had been for many years an important Indian trading post. Unlike Green Bay and Prairie du Chien, Milwaukee had no permanent French-Canadian population. In 1833 the huts of three traders were its only habitations. Chief among these traders was Solomon Juneau, who had settled at this point in 1818. He united with

¹⁸ Mathews, Lois K., *The Expansion of New England* (Boston, 1909), 224-25.

Morgan L. Martin of Green Bay in 1834 to preëempt the land east of Milwaukee River and lay out a town site.

In 1834 Col. George H. Walker from Virginia took up the south point of Milwaukee harbor, ever since known as Walker's Point. No other permanent settlers came until 1835. Then Byron Kilbourn platted a town site west of Milwaukee River, which was long a rival to Juneau's town. The first steamboat landed at Milwaukee in June of this year; and many of the substantial citizens who built up the metropolis made their advent in 1835. The county organization sufficed until 1835 when the villages of Milwaukee east of the river and Kilbourn town were organized with Juneau and Kilbourn, respectively, as presidents. These two organizations were united in 1838.¹⁹

Racine, also, was founded in 1835 by Gilbert Knapp, who was quickly followed by other preëemptors. On the site of Kenosha agents for a New York Emigration company found claimants as early as March of the same year. The agents of this company thereupon began their settlement a mile farther north at the mouth of Pike River. By the autumn of 1835 several buildings had been erected at both places, and religious services held.²⁰

North of Milwaukee a paper city was laid out by speculators at what is now Port Washington, then called Wisconsin City. This was expected to become the future metropolis of the territory. Sheboygan was platted by eastern investors during the last months of 1835; its first permanent settlers, however, did not arrive until the spring of 1836. The same was true of Manitowoc.

While the lake ports were thus being occupied during 1835 farms in the hinterland were also being opened. Waukesha, then called Prairieville, had settlers on its site as

¹⁹ Mack, Edwin S., "The Founding of Milwaukee," in *Wis. Hist. Soc. Proceedings*, 1906, 194-207.

²⁰ *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, II, 450-56; III, 370-420.

early as 1834. All but three of the present townships of Racine County were opened up with farms during 1835. The same season saw settlers in Kenosha, Salem, Somers, Pleasant Prairie, Brighton, Paris, Bristol, and Wheatland townships of the present Kenosha County. The southern townships of Milwaukee County were first settled in 1835; and what became the villages of Pewaukee, Mukwonago, and Muskego received their first settlers the same summer. Two or three groups of homeseekers in the late autumn of 1835 crossed the country to the waters of Rock River; but only the beginning of a preëmptor's log cabin near Janesville gave any sign of permanent settlement on that stream before 1836.

That year saw the great influx into the new territory whose separation from Michigan was then an assured fact. Every steamboat coming around the lakes landed hundreds of prospectors at the ports. The stream of wagons passing overland from Detroit was almost continuous. Tavern accommodations were wholly inadequate; families camped on the wayside and slept in wagons, cooking their own provisions at numerous camp fires along the route. Arrived at the promised land the question of location became all important. Mechanics, builders, and small capitalists settled at the embryo towns. Intending farmers sought half- and quarter-sections along some stream or in the timber; prairie land was liked by eastern immigrants because it was less difficult to clear than the heavily timbered sections.

In 1836 the counties of Walworth, Jefferson, Rock, Fond du Lac, Sheboygan, and Manitowoc were opened up; village sites were platted and town lots put upon the market. Speculation spread beyond the borders of the territory; town lots in Wisconsin were sold at boom prices throughout the East. Eastern capitalists came out with funds to make large purchases from the land offices. The bona fide settlers, who had come with small means to make permanent homes, took alarm. A species of claimants' organization, begun at Pike

River in February, 1836 to arbitrate on rival claims, commended itself to the preëmtors. The same summer the Milwaukee County Union was formed;²¹ other counties quickly caught the idea of protective associations. By this means the actual settlers obtained their land at the government price of \$1.25 an acre. Any speculator bidding against a settler was roughly handled. Nor could he secure redress by law, for no settlers' jury would decide in his favor. Wisconsin thus became populated by a small proprietor class, coming chiefly from New England and New York. These immigrants were largely descendants of seventeenth century Americans; they brought to Wisconsin the ideals and the purposes that had made successful the great commonwealths of the East. In their new western homes they built up American institutions and American homes that have formed the basis of the progress and prosperity of Wisconsin.

ORGANIZATION OF THE TERRITORY

In 1835 Michigan was ripe for statehood, and her admission to the Union seemed but a question of a few months. A call for a constitutional convention was issued; delegates met at Detroit in May of that year and provided a constitution which was adopted by the people in October. It was so well understood that the portion of Michigan Territory west of the lake would be set off as a separate territory, that in August, 1835 an act was passed arranging for the election from the western portion of a Congressional delegate and of a legislative council to meet at Green Bay the first of January, 1836. Several candidates appeared for the delegate's office, from among whom George Wallace Jones of Sinsinawa Mound was elected. He appeared in Congress as delegate from Michigan Territory, since Michigan, involved in a border difficulty with Ohio, was not yet admitted as a state in the Union. Likewise the legislative council that met at Green Bay was designated the Seventh Legislative Council

²¹ *Ibid.*, II, 472-76.

of Michigan Territory. This rump body, of which Col. William S. Hamilton was president, accomplished little; it passed resolutions condemning the absence of the acting governor, John Scott Horner, and adjourned at the end of a two weeks' session.

Meanwhile the bill to establish a territorial government for Wisconsin was moving forward in Congress and was signed by President Jackson April 20, 1836. It provided for the organization of the territory on July 4 and for a census, which resulted in numbering 22,218 people in the territory, of which nearly one-half were west of the Mississippi River. The territory then comprised six counties, two of which lay beyond the Mississippi, leaving what is now Wisconsin divided into Brown, Crawford, Iowa, and Milwaukee counties. Wisconsin's population was sufficient to make her a territory of the third rank, fully equipped with an elected assembly and council and an appointed territorial court. Since it was the first territory organized under President Jackson's régime, its offices were much in demand. Wisconsin's inhabitants considered themselves fortunate in having Henry Dodge, long a resident among them, chosen for governor. The appointment of John Scott Horner as secretary was less acceptable; the office was retained by the incumbent but a short time, William B. Slaughter being appointed by the president on February 16, 1837. The actual presence of the governor in the territory during nearly all of the twelve years of its existence rendered the office of territorial secretary a subordinate one. The other appointive officers were Charles Dunn, chief justice; William C. Frazer and David Irvin, associate justices; William W. Chapman, United States district attorney.

The first legislature, composed of a council of thirteen members and an assembly of twenty-six, met October 25, 1836 at Belmont in the mining region. Belmont was a "paper" town promoted by the new chief justice, Charles

Dunn, and located near the Platte Mounds in what is now Lafayette County. It arose like a balloon and like one collapsed with the departure of the capital. In 1836, however, "the most extravagant plans and speculations were indulged in, while each individual appeared to feel a happy consciousness that wealth and honors were just within his grasp. Immense improvements were projected and displayed in a most attractive manner upon paper in the shape of spacious hotels, boarding houses, princely mansions, and a capitol or legislative hall (the latter to be, of course, at the expense of 'Uncle Sam') in a style intended to eclipse all similar edifices in the country."²² In contrast to these anticipations the site of Belmont is today covered by a farmstead.

The location of the future capital was the chief subject that agitated the first legislature. Among all the promoters of the time, James D. Doty was the most successful; and the site he had chosen between Third and Fourth lakes became that adopted for the future capital. It is charged that a judicious distribution among the legislators of lots in the coming town of Madison aided in securing the decision. Be this as it may, Belmont was soon deserted and the second session of the first legislature met at Burlington, in what is now Iowa. The second territorial legislature met in Madison on November 26, 1838.

Preparations for a capitol building had been begun early in 1837. Before the snow had left the ground the Peck family had removed from Blue Mounds in order to provide a boarding place for the men engaged in its construction. Augustus A. Bird, the capitol commissioner, bought sawmill machinery in the East; and early in the summer of 1837 it was landed from a steamboat at Milwaukee. Thence Bird's men cut a rude trace and hauled the machinery and supplies overland, arriving in time to celebrate the Fourth of July in the

²² *Ibid.*, VI, 298-99.

woods of the new capital. Soon thereafter a quarry was opened at what is now Maple Bluff, and stone was brought across the lake in a scow. Amidst great difficulties the commissioners struggled to be ready for the legislature. With all their efforts the building was unfinished, and the cold was so intense that in December of 1838 a month's recess was taken that accommodations might be improved.

At this and succeeding sessions of the territorial legislatures internal improvements were the most important measures discussed. Numerous roads were ordered to be laid out, charters were granted for railroads that were never built, ferries were licensed, and dams permitted on unnavigable streams. The national government was petitioned for river and harbor improvements, for lighthouses and mail routes. Two large projects for waterways were vigorously promoted. These were the Milwaukee and Rock River Canal and the Fox-Wisconsin Improvement. The former was promoted by Milwaukee capitalists, the latter by those of Green Bay. Both projects secured land grants from Congress and both became seriously involved in political disputes. No work of importance was ever done on the Rock River project; the canal at Portage and the water control of the lower Fox River are the results of the Fox-Wisconsin Improvement, which in 1872 was taken over by the federal government. In fact the navigation of either route was possible only to light draft and small-sized craft that could never compete in modern times with the rail carriers.

Other matters with which the territorial legislatures concerned themselves were the organization of counties and towns, the adjustment of local government, the adoption and revision of a legal code, and the chartering and investigating of banks.

GROWTH OF THE TERRITORY

The growth of Wisconsin's population during the years of her territorial existence was phenomenal. In 1838 Con-

gress cut off the territory of Iowa and ordered a new census. The 11,683 of 1836 had in two years become 18,149. At the federal census of 1840 Wisconsin was found to contain 30,747 people. Two years later the total was 46,678. The increase now accelerated, and by 1846 the population had nearly quadrupled, numbering (with reports from three sparsely populated counties missing) 155,277. In 1847 the official report was 210,546.

Until after 1840 practically all the people dwelt south of the Fox-Wisconsin waterway. During the later years of the territorial period the upper Wisconsin, the upper Mississippi, and the shores of Green Bay began to be fringed with hamlets and farms. The first territorial legislature divided the four counties previously established by Michigan into fifteen. This number was almost doubled in twelve years, Wisconsin becoming a state with twenty-nine organized counties.

Hand in hand with the growth of population went the increase of facilities for intercommunication. In 1832 there were four post routes for monthly mails. In 1836 the government let contracts for sixteen weekly mails. By 1838 the number was doubled; and on some routes biweekly and tri-weekly mails were ordered. The same year there were eighty postoffices within the territory. Ten years later the postoffices had become 286, and the contractors for mail routes numbered fifty-nine.

The need of roads was considered by each successive territorial legislature. The United States spent during the territorial period \$67,000 on military roads within our borders. Each legislature ordered the survey and opening of roads between various village centers. As an example of the progress made a Madison newspaper in 1842 says, "Five years ago there were but three houses on the one road between Madison and Milwaukee. There are now four roads, one of which passes through many of the best cultivated and most tastefully improved farms west of New York; nearly all of

which are owned and occupied by the industrious, enterprising, and intelligent sons of New York and New England.”²³

None the less the territorial roads were very poor—at certain seasons almost impassable. At all seasons transportation delays were probable; and the problem of moving men and goods was acute throughout all the territorial period. In 1845 Governor Tallmadge recommended to the legislature the consideration of plank roads. These were, however, first undertaken by private enterprise. In 1846 the first plank toll road from Milwaukee to Lisbon was chartered; but not until the territory became a state did the plank road system ameliorate the wretched roads of early-day Wisconsin.

Railroads were much discussed; nine railways were incorporated during the territorial epoch, but no rails were laid within the state until 1850.

The earliest travelers went through the country on horseback; the first immigrants came in by ox carts. Prairie schooners and wagons of every type were drawn by horses or oxen, even cows being sometimes harnessed to light vehicles. In winter sleds and sleighs, particularly the long French “train” drawn by two horses tandem, replaced wheeled vehicles.

From private vehicles progress was soon made to stages. Before the organization of the territory there was but one stage line running from Galena to Mineral Point. By 1841 stages crossed the territory weekly by two main routes from Green Bay to Mineral Point, and from Milwaukee via Madison to Galena. The trip to Madison took two days. By 1848 a daily line of coaches ran from Milwaukee to Galena in three days, taking alternately the route through Troy, Janesville, and Shullsburg, and that through Waukesha, Madison, and Mineral Point. A branch ran from Janesville to Rockford and Dixon, Illinois, connecting with the Chicago stage. Another ran from Madison via Watertown and Fond du Lac

²³ Keyes, E. W., *History of Dane County* (Madison, 1906), 114.

to Green Bay. Connections were made three times a week between Racine and Janesville, Kenosha (then Southport) and Madison. From Milwaukee north and south lines ran to Chicago and to Sheboygan.²⁴

Along the stage routes and beside most of the territorial roads taverns of various degrees of excellence quickly sprang up. The earliest accommodations were log cabins, on the floors of which travelers spread their own blankets. By 1845 Green Bay, Milwaukee, Madison, and some other towns had hostelries dignified by the name of hotels.

During the territorial days land was the chief source of wealth. By 1838 the government had sold \$1,378,766.73 worth of land. In 1844 the assessed value of the real estate was \$8,077,200.00. Nineteen-twentieths of Wisconsin's population lived on farms. The climate placing this region beyond the corn range, "hog and hominy" could not be depended upon for crops. Moreover the majority of the settlers from New York and New England were accustomed to raising grain. Wisconsin's virgin loam produced without fertilization the small grains, of which wheat was the most profitable. Wisconsin soon became a one-crop region. In 1839, 212,166 bushels were produced from 15,151 acres. Barley, oats, and rye together totaled but 119,545 bushels. Wisconsin's product in her first year of statehood was 4,286,131 bushels of wheat, making her the ninth in the wheat-producing states of the Union.

The difficulty of transporting the crop grew with the distance from the lake shore. In 1839 the center of the wheat farms lay in Racine, Milwaukee, and Walworth counties. By the next decade the wheat growing center was in Rock, Jefferson, and Dodge counties. The price of freight from Watertown to Milwaukee ranged from ten to twenty cents per bushel. Within the next decade the marketing problems were lessened by the creation of plank roads and railroads.

²⁴ Wis. Hist. Soc. *Proceedings*, 1914, 132.

Next to the wheat and grain products the minerals of southwestern Wisconsin brought wealth. This, the oldest settled region, kept for a long time a distinct character allied to the south and southwest. Its population, however, was nearly stationary. The production of lead reached its greatest point by 1844 and thereafter declined. Agriculture in this region developed slowly, since titles to land could not be secured so long as there was mineral upon it. In 1842 Congress passed an act for the relief of such farmholders; some who had lived for twenty years upon their improvements then first secured titles. With the decline of mining the old frontier character of the mining region passed away. The shifting populace moved off to new centers, notably to California in 1848. About the middle of the forties the lines of transportation shifted. Lead began to be hauled to the lake board; by 1847 the bulk of the product crossed the territory in wagons drawn by six- and eight-yoke ox teams and was transshipped by steamer to the East. With this change in connections, the population of the southwestern portion of Wisconsin began to assimilate to the type of the remainder of the territory. The lead-mining region, however, has never quite overtaken the remainder of the state in enterprise and in the production of wealth.

The lumbering industry began during the territorial era in several pineries that later became the scene of large operations. The first sawmill on the upper Wisconsin was built at Point Bas in 1835. After the Menominee treaty of 1836 a fringe of sawmills quickly rose on the banks of the Wisconsin as far north as Wausau. Lumbering on Black River was begun as early as 1819; not until twenty years later was the first mill built upon that stream, when J. D. Spaulding preempted the Black River Falls. By 1844 lumber was run out into the Mississippi in considerable quantity. About the same time a few logs were cut upon the St. Croix and the

Chippewa, but the exploitation of these regions did not really begin until after 1848.

The greatest need of the young territory was for capital. However, after the flush times of the first territorial years had culminated in the crash of 1837, great distrust was felt for all financial institutions. The suffering occasioned by the panic was greater in the new country than in the older regions. Everyone was in debt; the money in circulation was useless. Hundreds of families on the frontier lived entirely on potatoes and salt during the winter of 1837-38. The neighborliness and brotherhood of the frontier community showed itself in ways that alleviated much of the suffering. He who had, shared with his neighbor. Recovery from the panic of 1837 was on the whole more rapid in the West than in the East; the good harvests, the land for all, the optimism in future prospects tended to restore confidence and to rebuild credit within the territory. It was long, however, before eastern capital overcame the distrust of Wisconsin occasioned by the panic of 1837.

The dislike for instruments of credit endured throughout the territorial period. The very name of a bank was anathema. Every charter granted by the legislature, even that for a school or a church, contained a proviso that nothing in these provisions should be construed as a grant for banking privileges. This was due to the hard experience of the first two territorial years. The first legislature incorporated three banks for Dubuque, Mineral Point, and Milwaukee; one was already in existence at Green Bay. All these ultimately failed disastrously and thus prejudice was awakened against all banks. But while "the name is a bugbear they detest, the thing is a boon they need and welcome," so in 1839 the Wisconsin Marine and Fire Insurance Company was incorporated with permission to receive money on deposit and lend the same at interest. This company, established in Milwaukee and managed by the Scotch financier, Alexander Mitchell,

became one of the strongest financial institutions in the Northwest and of untold value in developing the resources of the future state.

Living conditions in the territory were hard but wholesome. The friendliness of the frontier manifested itself in valuable help for incoming neighbors. There was no sign of caste or class spirit. The needs of one were the opportunities of all. As a rule each family was a unit largely self-sufficing. When necessity arose for combined labor, it was accomplished by voluntary services called "bees," which were made the occasion of social recreation. The most important "bee" was that for cabin making. The logs were cut and trimmed beforehand, and people came for miles around to take part in the "raising." The proper space having been marked off, the logs were quickly rolled and laid in place, notched at the ends to hold firm. The roof was made of bark or "shakes," the floor of puncheons—logs split in two with the rounded side down. The interstices between the logs were chinked in with clay or mud and usually whitewashed both inside and out. Sometimes the entire cabin was made without the use of nails. A blanket was used for a door until a board one could be made. Windows were covered with shutters; but few had in them any glass. The most important part of the structure was the chimney, which sometimes occupied all one side of the cabin. This was commonly built of small stones and clay, although sticks occasionally took the place of stones. Into this capacious fireplace great logs were hauled, sometimes by the help of a horse, to keep the family warm in the severe Wisconsin winters. Almost all the immigrants from the older states brought with them furniture, cooking utensils, linen for table and beds, and some store of quilts and clothing. Additional furniture was quickly provided by the handy skill of the men and boys. Bedsteads were improvised with one side fastened between the logs. Ticks were filled with straw or hay, and most housewives brought with them a cherished

feather bed. Food was seldom scarce. The "truck patch" quickly furnished vegetables, while the woods and streams abounded with fish and game. Deer were easily obtained, and plenty of smaller animals and game birds were within reach of a gun. Flour was often lacking because of the difficulties of going to mill. Hand mills and wooden pestles and mortars were often resorted to for temporary supplies of pounded meal.

Tools and implements were precious, one settler having to go all the way to Chicago to replace a lost ax. Except the ax and hammer, tools were freely borrowed and lent; agricultural implements were almost common property. One grindstone usually served a considerable community. The repair shop of the village blacksmith was a great convenience for isolated settlers, who had before his coming made long journeys to replace and repair their tools. Men assisted one another not only at house raisings, but at ploughing and harvesting, clearing land and grubbing stumps, fencing, and planting. Sickiness, death, and marriage were community affairs. Everyone lent a helping hand, and any skill or ability he possessed was at the service of the neighbors.

Amusements were rude and promiscuous. Dancing was much favored, except among the religious people. Taverns were utilized for dances, and good music was produced from the cherished "fiddle." Singing schools were frequent, and a good singing teacher was much in demand. Relaxation from the stern realities of life came chiefly through religious services. Sunday was kept as a rest day by common consent; pioneer preachers came into the territory among its earliest immigrants.

In point of time the Catholics were the first missionaries in preterritorial Wisconsin. A Trappist monk from Illinois visited Prairie du Chien in 1817; the first church building was completed at Green Bay in 1825. In 1835 an Austrian priest, Father Baraga, built a chapel on Madeline Island. The first

German Catholic missionary arrived at Milwaukee in 1842; two years later a bishopric was established at Milwaukee whose first incumbent was Bishop Henni. Under his care parishes were organized in all the larger towns of the territory and in many country communities.

The Episcopalians in 1822 began Indian mission work at Green Bay where Eleazer Williams, who later claimed to be the lost dauphin of France, accompanied the New York Indians to their Wisconsin homes. In 1827 a large school for Indian youth was built at Green Bay; the same year at the same place Christ Episcopal Church was organized. The Reverend Jackson Kemper, in 1835 consecrated missionary bishop for the Northwest, speedily organized parishes at Milwaukee, Racine, and Kenosha, and in 1841 founded Nashotah Seminary. In 1848 there were twenty-three clergymen, twenty-five parishes, and about a thousand communicants in Wisconsin.

The Methodist itinerants appeared early in the lead-mining region where the first class was organized in 1832. The same year Father John Clark was appointed missionary to Green Bay; while furthering Indian missions he also established classes among the American people. Preaching service was held in Milwaukee from 1835 onward; the first church was built in 1841. In 1848 Wisconsin Conference was organized with four districts, fifty-seven churches, sixty-two preachers, and nearly ten thousand members.

The first Congregational service was held at Fort Howard in 1820 by the Reverend Jedediah Morse of the American Board for Foreign Missions. This society and the American Home Missionary Society supported Indian missions on Fox River and Chequamegon Bay. At the latter place the mission church antedated the Catholic mission, and still preserved is doubtless the oldest church building in Wisconsin. Work among the miners was begun in 1829; three of the six members of the first church at Galena in 1831 lived at Mineral

Point. By 1840 there were eight Presbyterian and eight Congregational churches in the territory, and a union was formed for a common association that lasted for ten years. In 1850 the association had 4,286 members in 111 churches, of which 83 were organized Congregationally.

The Baptists began work at Kenosha among the earliest pioneers. About the year 1836 societies were formed at Milwaukee and Waukesha. Delavan was a temperance colony of Baptists from New York, and there was built in 1841 the first church edifice. The first convention met at this church in 1844 when 1,500 members were reported. By 1850 there were in the state Baptist convention 64 churches, 52 pastors, and 3,198 members.

Higher education within the territory was considered the function of the religious bodies. Numbers of academies and institutes were chartered, all to be placed under private or denominational control. Few of these attained true collegiate rank until the period of statehood. Prairieville Academy became in 1846 Carroll College; Beloit College laid the foundation of its first college building in 1847, and five students entered the freshman class that autumn; Lawrence Institute was projected in 1846, chartered in 1847, and opened its doors for pupils in September, 1848. Milton Academy was later raised to collegiate grade; and Platteville Academy laid the foundation for the first normal school. The only real public high school during the territorial period was that founded in 1847 by the efforts of I. A. Lapham at Milwaukee.

Elementary schools developed very slowly during the territorial period. Until 1839 there was no provision by law for any school equipment except that authorized under the Michigan statutes. One small public school was begun in Milwaukee in 1837 under the latter's provisions. In 1845, however, there was not a true public school in Milwaukee. The district school law of 1839 was very inadequate; the idea of tax-supported education had many and powerful oppo-

nents. In 1845 a free public school was organized at Kenosha, and under the stimulus of Michael Frank of that city a bill was put through the legislature of that year authorizing public taxation for educational purposes. This law acted as a powerful stimulus to the erection of schools. Milwaukee's school system was begun in 1846; by 1848 there were five public school buildings "equal to anything in New York, Boston, or Albany." The state constitution adopted in 1848 provided that "district schools shall be free, and without charge for tuition to all children between the ages of four and twenty years."²⁵

Reform movements in the territory were numerous. Many of the early settlers came west imbued with the hope of promoting reforms on virgin soil. Among such were the Phoenix brothers, founders of Delavan, who with every transfer of a town lot provided that no liquor should ever be sold thereon. A temperance society was also organized among the earliest settlers. Walworth County had a county temperance society in 1839; Kenosha was an early leader in the same movement. In 1841 the Walworth County society secured the first liquor law from the legislature, exempting millers from compulsory service for distilleries. Local option laws were also passed during the territorial period. Several temperance orders or brotherhoods, such as the "Washingtonians" and "Sons of Temperance," had chapters in territorial Wisconsin.

Antislavery ideas flourished strongly in early-day Wisconsin. Henry Dodge and the Gratiot brothers came to this region from Missouri to escape from slavery. They brought with them family servants whom they liberated after a certain term of service. In Racine and Walworth counties there was a strong Liberty party element eager for political action. In 1843 a candidate of that party was named for Congressional delegate; and two newspapers, the *Aegis* at Racine.

²⁵ *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, V, 342.

and the *American Freeman* at Waukesha, appeared. The latter became the party organ and was ably edited for several years by Ichabod Coddington and C. C. Sholes. The same year, 1843, antislavery votes elected the sheriff for Milwaukee and the next year defeated the Whig candidate in Walworth County. The vote grew with the election of each Congressional delegate until in 1849 Charles Durkee of Wisconsin became the first Liberty party man to sit in the House of Representatives. Suffrage for negroes was defeated by a referendum in 1847; but the vote of 7,664 in favor of the measure shows the strength of antislavery sentiment in the territory.

Communitistic sentiment was strong during the period of the forties; several coöperative colonies were organized in Wisconsin. Of these, the most noteworthy was the Wisconsin Phalanx, founded at Kenosha in 1844. This Fourierite community built Ceresco at the present Ripon and maintained itself until 1850. English coöperative communities selected Wisconsin as the site of their experiments. Some followers of Robert Owen founded North Prairie in Waukesha County, and a Utilitarian Society settled in Mukwonago. A British Temperance Emigration Society was founded in 1843 at Liverpool. This was a philanthropic rather than a communal enterprise, but shareholders were entitled to privileges secured by united action. Lawrence Heyworth, a wealthy philanthropist, was president and came in person to Wisconsin to promote the enterprise. The 1,600 acres of land purchased lay in western Dane and eastern Iowa counties; thereon many English mechanics and farm laborers were settled as a result of the movement. A Mormon colony was for some time settled at Voree in Walworth County. Thus Wisconsin had her share of enthusiasts seeking to found Utopias in her midst.

(To be continued)